POST

The Vote of the Socialist Party in the United States

Economics

A. B.

1909

UNIVERSITY
OF
ILL. LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

Class 1909 Book P84 Volume

Ja 09-20M

The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

**Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.**

**To renew call Telephone Center, 333-8400**

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

SEP 2 2 1983

SEP 2 4 1983

L161—O-1096

# THE VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

913
197
no
c

by

GEORGE EARL POST

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

in the

COLLEGE OF LITERATURE AND ARTS

of the

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Presented June, 1909

1909
P84

1909
P84

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

.....190

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

GEORGE EARL POST

ENTITLED THE VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

IS APPROVED BY ME AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

Maurice H. Robinson,

John K. Towles.
Instructor in Charge

APPROVED: D. Kinley

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF Economics

145221

THE PAPE BOUND
UIUC
MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

CONTENTS.


The Origin of the Socialist Party in America. 1.

History of the Party 1901 - 1909. 12.

The Vote of the Socialist Party in National Elections. 18.

Economic and Political Conditions Affecting the Vote. 30.

What is to be the Future of the Party? 38.

The Socialist Theory and Platform. 51.

Conclusion. 60.

Bibliography. 64.

Letter from J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary. 69.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

http://archive.org/details/voteofsocialistp00post

## The Origin of the Socialist Party in America.[1]

The Socialist Party as it exists in American politics is the result of a long development. The first strong appeal for such a party was made in the convention of the National Labor Union in 1866,[2] and in response to the call the third convention of the same body, held two years later, launched the National Reform Party. As soon as this new organization became strong, however, professional politicians secured control and eventually succeeded in merging it with the older parties. By 1871, the National Reform Party had ceased to exert any influence. It was followed by the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of America, which was formed July 4, 1874. This body soon started a movement to unite all the socialistic factions, and for this purpose a convention was held in Pittsburg in 1874. There were one hundred sixty delegates present, but the convention was controlled by a delegation of twenty socialists. The only valuable result of the meeting was a call for a new convention to be held in Philadelphia in July of the same year.

This Philadelphia convention formed the Workingmen's Party of the United States, which organization was, in 1877, renamed the Socialist Labor Party. Its first platform is characterized by Hilquit as a "scientific and somewhat abstract exposition of the cardinal points of the Marxian socialism",[3] but the convention of 1877, which renamed the party, changed its policy from one of propaganda and education to one of more direct political activity. The whole aim of the party for several years was to Americanize the socialist movement, for at first not over ten per cent of its members were

native Americans.[4] In this work of bettering their standing in the country, the leaders worked through trade unionism and politics. They found the unions well developed, and were inclined to look upon these organizations as allies, but they were not able, largely because of divided counsels, to exert any strong influence within the labor ranks. Many in the party considered the efforts to cooperate with the unions as a waste of time, and there was always a tendency to use the unions when the labor forces were strong, and to ignore them when they were weak.

There was also a division within the party as to whether it should go into politics or should unite with other reform parties. The question was never definitely decided, and the practice of the party varied from one extreme to the other. In 1877 - 1879, the party conducted many successful local campaigns, such as that in Chicago in 1878 when three representatives were sent to the state legislature. This was during the time of depression after the panic of 1873. It was always in such times that the party was most successful. When material prosperity returned to the country, the party always lost many of its votes. Such a checkered career led to internal dissensions and, in many cases, to open rupture.

In 1881, a new party, the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party, was organized.[5] Its platform was a combination of the doctrines of socialism and of anarchism, and it opposed the Socialist Labor Party for several years. The industrial depression of 1884 - 1886, which caused some distress, tended to aid the new party, which was very active and was appealing to all the discontented elements. Toward the end of this period, however, serious disorders occurred in Chicago. A bomb was thrown into a squad of policemen who were attempting to break up a meeting of the anarchists. Eight men were tried

for having part in the affair, of whom seven were sentenced to death. Only four were hanged. Although there seems to be some question as to the fairness of the trial, the disturbance practically ended the influence of the anarchists. At this same time, too, the socialists were increasing their strength by being active in support of the eight-hour day. As a result of this activity, the party cast a relatively heavy vote in the local elections of 1886.

In 1886 and 1887, the Socialist Labor Party united with the United Labor Party in supporting Henry George for mayor of New York. After the campaign, differences sprang up between the parties, and the next year, the socialists were denied admission to the United Labor convention. The United Labor Party died out soon afterward, and the socialists, who nominated a full state ticket in 1888, polled less than 3000 votes, of which 2500 came from New York City alone. After this failure, many socialists advocated the complete withdrawal of the party from politics. About the same time the other phase of the party's activity, that is its work with the trade unions, also failed. Members of the party had been working in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In 1890, however, they suffered a severe reverse when admittance to the Federation was denied to the Central Labor Federation of New York on the ground that it was a political body because of its connection with the Socialist Labor Party. After that, the agitation in the Federation was carried on by individuals without the sanction of the party. The Socialist Labor Party was, it would seem, in poor condition by the end of 1890.

The last decade of the century, however, was marked by a rapid increase in socialistic sentiment in this country. There were

great amalgamations of capital, and these called forth correspondingly great labor unions. Class lines were drawn more sharply than in the past, and the class struggle was intensified. There were several large strikes, such as the Homestead Strike in Pennsylvania in July 1892, the Buffalo Strike in August 1892, and the Pullman Strike in Chicago in 1894. All of these were bitter struggles, and in all the strikers were defeated. The normal result was an increase in dissatisfaction among the laboring classes. The farmers, also, were growing discontented, owing to the fact that agriculture was becoming capitalistic in its nature. The railroads were building up a world market for food-stuffs, and the large western farms were increasing the supply of these products, and so tending to lower prices. Machinery, at the same time, was becoming more expensive. The farmers were forced to give mortgages in order to make both ends meet, and were naturally displeased with the course of events.[6]

Many organizations were founded, among which may be mentioned the Nationalist Societies, the People's Party, and the Christian Socialist movement, which aimed to express this prevalent discontent. Of them all, only the People's, or Populist Party was of any great importance. It made its strong appeal to the farmers of the west, although the declaration in the Omaha platform of 1892 that "The interests of rural and civic laborers are the same; their enemies are identical",[7] is indicative of a desire to gain the support of the eastern workers as well. The Socialist Labor Party, however, which aimed to voice just such social discontent as then existed, failed to take full advantage of conditions. Its vote increased, to be sure: in 1892, its presidential ticket polled 21164 votes in six states; and in 1896, this was increased to 36274 in twenty states. In the

local elections of 1898, its candidates received a total of 82204 votes.[8]

This increase, however, did not keep pace with the spread of social discontent. Discontent was general, and the Socialist platform of 1892, which was practically the same in 1896, aimed to express this social unrest. The platform had some features which are included at the present time in statements of the party's principles. Prominent among these were the demand for the employment of the unemployed on public works, the abolition of the United States Senate, and of the veto power of the President, the right of recall, and equal suffrage for men and women.[9] The socialist vote, nevertheless, was still small and very much centralized. Only twelve states were represented in the convention of 1896; and of the 21000 votes cast in 1892, 18000 came from New York and New Jersey.[10] The trouble was that the party had been formed when socialism was wholly a matter of theory, and it was accordingly made up of theorists. In the nineties, the movement was becoming popular, but the party leaders did not seem to appreciate the fact. They insisted on a complete acceptance of every tenet of the socialistic creed, and were jealous of every other plan of social reform. They began to oppose organized labor, even organizing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a supplement to the party, to fight the unions.[11] The party members became dissatisfied with this dictatorial attitude of many of their leaders and about 1895 many socialists began to agitate for a new socialist party.

This new party was organized largely through the instrumentality of Eugene V. Debs. In 1897 the remnant of the American Railway Union, which had been dragging along since its defeat in the Pullman Strike, met with the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Common-

wealth, a new body which had been formed under the influence of the periodical, "The Coming Nation". Together they organized the Social Democracy of America. This body was, at first, purely a colonization schene, but many malcontents from other parties flocked to it and agitated for political activity. In the first national convention held in Chicago in 1898, a debate came up between the two elements, and on a vote, the colonization scheme won. Those favoring political action then withdrew from the convention. The party went ahead and founded two settlements in the west. These failed, and the party soon died out.(12)

The minority which withdrew from the convention promptly held a meeting of its own and organized the Social Democratic Party of America. This was purely a political party, and it at once engaged in active political work. This same year, 1898, it elected John D. Chase mayor of Haverhill, Massachusetts, largely because of divisions in the major parties. In the following year, he was reelected against a united and determined opposition.(13) According to Ely, this was the first time a mayor had been elected in this country on an avowed socialistic platform.(14) At the same time, three surrounding towns elected socialist mayors, and two from the party were returned to the Massachusetts state legislature. The first national convention was held in Indianapolis in March 1900 and was attended by sixty-seven delegates. These delegates held the signatures of 2136 socialists for each of which one vote was cast. The party claimed a membership of 5000.

Meanwhile, conditions in the Socialist Labor Party were steadily growing worse. At last, in 1899 the New Yorker Volkzeitung, a paper of the party, began to criticize sharply the actions of the

party leaders. It began by condemning their attitude toward labor unions, but gradually extended the field and was soon opposing the whole conduct of the party. It soon became the head of a determined faction within the party, which faction in the election of that year secured a majority of the general committee from the Section of New York. This committee at once broke up in attempting to choose a chairman, but the opposition members met alone and proceeded to organize and begin operations on its own account. This committee had been empowered to elect and to recall the national officers of the party. The opposition committee now proceeded to declare all these offices vacant and to elect new men to the places. The new officers began their work, but the old ones refused to resign, so there were two practically distinct bodies each claiming to be the Socialist Labor Party. When the general election of that year approached both parties put tickets into the field. The matter was then taken into the courts where the decision was given for the older, or what might be called, the administrative faction.[15]

This decision left the opposition faction with no legal basis and threw its affairs into confusion. In order to adjust matters, a convention was called to meet at Rochester in the same year, 1899. Fifty-nine delegates assembled and remained in session for nine days. They reorganized the Socialist Labor Party, repudiated the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and adopted a platform very similar to that in use to-day. Of more importance, however, was the set of resolutions adopted, declaring that,"whereas, harmonious and concerted action of all the socialist elements of the United States is expedient for a successful campaign against the combined forces of capitalism; resolved, that it is the sense of this convention that

the interests of socialism will be best subserved by a speedy union of the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party into one strong, harmonious, and united socialist party; resolved that we call upon the earnest and intelligent socialists of the country in the ranks of both parties to discard all petty ambitions and personal prejudices in the face of this great purpose".[16] They provided further for a committee on socialist union which was to act until the question might be disposed of.

This committee was appointed, and it attended the Indianapolis convention of the Social Democratic Party which has been mentioned above. It found the party, with the exception of some of the leaders, enthusiastically in favor of union. The convention appointed a committee to act with that from the Socialist Labor Party to arrange the details of the union, and placed Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman in nomination for President and Vice President respectively. The two committees met soon after and adopted the Indianapolis ticket, the Rochester platform with a few additions, and the name of the Social Democratic Party. This plan of union was submitted to the separate parties for ratification.

Shortly after, the Social Democratic Party leaders renounced the plan, but , nevertheless, put it to a vote. They declared that it was lost, but a strong section of the party, who favored union, declared that the action of the committee had been ratified. They amalgamated with the Rochester section of the Socialist Labor Party, which had already accepted the agreement. This action split the Social Democratic Party just as the Socialist Labor Party had already been divided, and threw the socialist forces in this country into great confusion.The original Social Democratic Party was supporting

Job Harriman, a member of the Rochester section of the Socialist Labor Party, or now, of the opposition Social Democratic Party, for the Vice Presidency. This latter faction had a ticket headed by Eugene V. Debs, a member of the official Social Democratic Party. The two factions finally went into the campaign of 1900, and worked together for the joint ticket. They polled 87769 votes for Debs,[17] which was, up to that time, the record for a socialist candidate.

The work in concert during the campaign brought the various sections together more strongly than all the negotiation of the past had done, and in July of 1901 at a convention in Indianapolis, their differences were all arranged. This convention, in sharp contrast to the early conventions of the Socialist Labor Party, was composed largely of Americans, three-fourths of the delegates being native born. It adopted a new platform for the party and removed the party headquarters to St. Louis. The party formed took the name, Socialist Party, and claimed a membership of 10000.[18] This body has since remained the chief factor in the socialist movement, for though the administrative faction of the Socialist Labor Party has maintained a separate existence, its vote has gradually declined. In 1908, it cast only 13000 votes,[19] and the party seems to be dying out.

Notes and Citations.

1. This historical sketch is based largely on Hilquit's "History of Socialism in the United States".

2. Hillquit, 184.

3. Hillquit, 209.

4. Hillquit, 214.

5. Hillquit, 235.

6. Hillquit, 307ff.

7. Hillquit, 319.

8. These figures are given by the party in a letter from J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary.

Ely's figures in Chatauquan 30:80 are:-

1892, 21157; 1896, 36564; 1898, 82204.

Hillquit's figures, pp. 283 and 284, quoted from Sanial's Socialist Almanac, are :-

1892, 21512; 1896, 36275; 1898, 82204.

9. Stanwood: "History of the Presidency" 513 - 515, and Review of Reviews 38:294.

10. Hopkins: "History of Political Parties". 208

11. Hillquit, 322 - 325.

12. Hillquit, 330 - 333.

13. Abbott in Outlook 64:410 and 411.

14. Chatauquan 30:80.

15. Hillquit, 325 - 328.

16. Hillquit 328.

17. Letter from J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary.

Review of Reviews, 23:27, gives 93865.

World Almanac gives 87769.

Hillquit, p.337, gives 97130.

18. Hillquit, 338 and 339.

19. Review of Reviews 39:34.

History of the Party 1901 - 1909.

Since 1901, the Socialist Party has been progressing rapidly. In 1903, it is said to have had about 1200 locals with some 20000 members; in 1904, 2000 locals with about 30000 members; and, in 1909, 3200 locals with about 50000 members.[1] In the Congressional elections of 1902, the candidates of the party polled nearly 250000 votes, as aganist 87000 in 1900. Much of this gain is probably to be attributed to the great strike that year in the anthracite regions, but the socialists claim that their gains were large even in districts practically unaffected by the strike. "The World Today" admits that there was no heavy loss from the party's vote in the scattered elections of the next year,[2] and in 1904 the vote in the national election reached 401380.

The socialists claim, too, that they are gaining favor with the labor unions, and especially with the unions of the west. In June of 1902 at their conventions in Denver the Western Labor Union, The Western Federation of Miners, and the United Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, all adopted resolutions favoring independent political action by the laboring classes, and indorsing the Socialist Party and its platform.[3] The Western Labor Union refused to unite with the American Federation of Labor because it considered the latter too conservative. It then changed its name to the American Labor Union and showed some tendency to enter into competition with the older Federation in the east. In November of the same year, 1902, the vote on a socialistic resolution in the American Federation of Labor showed that nearly one half of the delegates in the convention were

inclined toward socialism. Writing in 1908, Robert Hunter said that many labor unions with a total membership of 350000 had "definitely endorsed the socialist program", and that other unions favored it but had not passed resolutions. "Signs are multiplying", he said, "of a decidedly unifying force throughout the whole socialist and labor movement".(4) President Eliot in an address in 1904 said that the danger of socialism here is more imminent than ever before, and warned society to resist its advances in the labor unions.(5)

The party has elected many local officers but no Congressmen and only a few members of state legislatures. Up to 1903, it had elected three members to the Massachustees legislature, and five to that of Montana. At the same time, it had chosen four mayors and fifty aldermen in various cities. The work of the party in Wisconsin, and especially in Milwaukee, has attracted some attention. In 1908 there were six socialists in the Wisconsin legislature. They had introduced some seventy measures of industrial and political reform, including an eight-hour day for telegraphers and changes in the child labor laws, of which number, about one quarter were made into law. In Milwaukee there are twelve socialist aldermen, and the candidate of the party for the mayoralty lacked only 2000 votes of election. The aldermen have set up a public lighting system, put in a three-cent fare on part of the street railway system, and have increased the tax on street-car property. It is claimed that they have opposed municipal corruption, improved the public service corporations, and kept the old parties in the paths of virtue.(6)

It was generally predicted that the socialists would poll a large vote in 1904. The central committee expended $32700 that year, and Debs, as well as many other speakers held mass-meetings all over

the country. Besides, there were the strike in the Chicago stockyards and the Colorado miners' strike which tended to drive laborers into politics. Many of the radical democrats, too, who did not like Parker, were expected to vote for Debs.(7) All these forces did increase the vote. It rose from 0.6 per cent of the total vote in 1900 to 2.9 per cent in 1904, or from 87769 to 401380. Several of these factors were abnormal. The vote of 1908, the socialists expected, would more nearly represent the true socialistic spirit in the country.(8)

In 1908, two changes in the party were proposed, one of which was adopted, the other rejected. The first of these had to do with the choice of the National Executive Committee of the party. This was originally chosen by the National Committee, but in 1906, in the interests of democracy, it was decided to choose the committee by a referendum vote. Each local was permitted to nominate seven men for the committee, with the result that too many were nominated, men who had never been heard of before often being named for the position. It was suggested as a remedy that a man must be nominated by ten locals, but the convention on 1908 voted to return to the old plan of choice by the National Committee. The action of the convention was approved by a referendum vote of the party.(9) This step would seem to be away from the absolute democracy upon which the socialists have insisted.

The other proposed change was a plan of union suggested by the Socialist Labor Party. This party in its convention in January 1908 appointed a committee of seven to confer with the Socialist Party and devise a plan for uniting the two organizations. The Socialist Party at once voted on a proposition to authorize the incoming National Committee to confer with the Socialist Labor Party. The

proposition was voted down. Another motion to ask the members of the Socialist Labor Party to unite with the Socialist Party as individuals or as locals, was passed, but it seems to have had no effect.[10]

In February, 1909, the local of Portland, Oregon, suggested a change to the effect that the National Secretary of the party be paid a salary of $1500 a year, and the other members of the National Executive Committee salaries of $90 a month. The members would then devote all their time to the work of the party. The idea is to limit membership on the committee to proletarians and to enthusiastic supporters of the party, it being thought that no one would take the work at such low pay unless personally interested in its success.[11]

The party press, too, has been rapidly extended. In 1903, there were published in English, four monthlies and twenty weeklies, as well as many trade union journals which supported the movement. In the fall of 1903, a daily paper was started in New York City, and another has since been established in Chicago. In the campaign of last year, Robert Hunter stated that the publications of the party reached one million readers.[12]

The socialists emphasize the fact that the growth of their party differs in many ways from that of the reform parties of the past. The party is more evenly distributed over the country than were they - so broadly distributed, in fact, that though its total voting strength is large, it has not elected any officers of importance. The People's Party made its strongest appeal to the farmers of the west, and the bulk of its vote always came from that class and section. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, though it appeals particularly to the wage workers of the cities, is beginning to attract followers from all over the country. There were many farmers

present at the Chicago convention last year, and the movement is drawing farmers, clergymen, and university men. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society for college students, headed by Jack London, is one of the newest branches of the party. C. F. Gettemy, in "The World Today" points out, too, that the Socialist Party has already lived through more presidential contests than did most of the reform parties of the past. The socialists cite these facts to prove that their party is of no mushroom growth.(13)

The party is organized on a democratic basis and nearly everything is settled by a referendum vote. It is, however, definite and compactly organized into sections and locals. Each new member must sign a statement that he renounces his allegiance to all other parties, and that he considers the class struggle the controlling feature of modern social life. Each member pays dues of three dollars a year. The party aims to retain control of every officer which it may elect. Every candidate for any office is required to sign a resignation which may be enforced against him if he at any time violates the socialist creed.(14)

With all its growth, however, some of the socialists think that the party has not developed in the United States as rapidly as the workmen have become interested in socialism, and that this interest has not increased as rapidly as it has in other countries. The International Socialist Review says that there has been within the party "too much wrangling and contemptible struggles for leadership, and too little working for the cause".(15) It is clear, however, that the party has grown; and its leaders confidently predict for it a much greater influence in the future than it has yet enjoyed.

Citations.

1. Hillquit "History", 341;
"Socialism in Theory and Practice", 354.
2. Gettemy in "The World Today" 7:1427.
3. Hillquit "History", 343 and 344.
4. Hunter, "Socialists at Work", 362 and 363.
5. World's Work 9:5670 and 5671.
6. Hunter "Socialists at Work", 362;
in Review or Reviews 38÷ 295 and 296.
7. Upton Sinclair in World's Work 11:7431.
The World Today 7:1252.
C. H. Dennis in "The World Today", 7:1593.
8. Int. Soc. Rev. 9:383.
9. Int. Soc. Rev. 8:496 and 782.
10. Int. Soc. Rev. 8:494 and 556.
11. Int. Soc. Rev. 9:615 and616.
12. Hunter in Review of Reviews 38:299.
13. Hillquit "History",342.
Gettemy in "The World Today" 7:1428 and 1429.
Hunter in Review of Reviews 38:293 and 299
Sinclair in "World's Work" 11:7432.
14. Sinclair in "World's Work" 11:7431.
15. Int. Soc Rev. 8: 434.

## The Vote of the Socialist Party in National Elections.

The Socialist Party, as we have seen, was formed in 1901. Since, however, the factions which compose it had worked practically as a unit in 1900, the campaign of that year is taken as the starting point of this study. Beginning at that time, the vote of the party in elections for national officers has been in 1900, 87769, in 1904, 401380, and in 1908, 412330. These figures show a large gain in the four years 1900 - 1904, and a much smaller gain in the next quadrennial period. Such figures, however, have little significance. To get at the real importance of the Socialist Party in American politics one must study, not so much its total numerical strength, as its relative strength, the proportion of the total vote which it casts, and how its vote is distributed over the country. When it is found where the party is strong, and a study has been made of conditions in those places, some attempt may be made at a generalization of the conditions under which socialistic principles may be expected to be in favor.

The vote cast by the Socialist Party in the several states, and the proportional strength of the party in each case are given in the following table:-

The vote of the Socialist Party.

| State | 1900 | | | 1904 | | | 1908 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Soc. | % | Total | Soc. | % | Total | Soc. | % |
| Alabama | 157205 | | | 108822 | 839 | 0.7 | 103399 | 1347 | 1.3 |
| Arkansas | 127839 | | | 116421 | 1816 | 1.5 | 151710 | 5750 | 3.7 |
| California | 302318 | 7554 | 2.4 | 331871 | 29535 | 8.8 | 386589 | 28659 | 7.4 |
| Colorado | 221336 | 654 | 0.2 | 243693 | 4304 | 1.7 | 263877 | 7974 | 3.0 |
| Connecticut | 180118 | 1029 | 0.5 | 191129 | 4543 | 2.3 | 188483 | 5113 | 2.7 |
| Delaware | 41982 | 57 | 0.1 | 43856 | 146 | 0.3 | 48024 | 240 | 0.4 |
| Florida | 39051 | 601 | 1.5 | 39307 | 1605 | 4.0 | 49360 | 3747 | 7.5 |
| Georgia | 121715 | | | 130992 | 197 | 0.1 | 132727 | 584 | 0.4 |
| Idaho | 57781 | | | 72584 | 4949 | 6.9 | 97260 | 6405 | 6.5 |
| Illinois | 1131894 | 9687 | 0.8 | 1076499 | 69225 | 6.4 | 1155254 | 34711 | 3.0 |
| Indiana | 664094 | 2374 | 0.3 | 682185 | 12013 | 1.7 | 721126 | 13476 | 1.8 |
| Iowa | 530355 | 2742 | 0.5 | 485703 | 14847 | 3.0 | 494770 | 8287 | 1.6 |
| Kansas | 353766 | 1605 | 0.4 | 324588 | 15494 | 4.7 | 375946 | 12420 | 3.0 |
| Kentucky | 467580 | 760 | 0.1 | 435765 | 3602 | 0.8 | 490687 | 4060 | 0.8 |
| Louisiana | 69904 | | | 53905 | 995 | 1.0 | 75143 | 2538 | 3.3 |
| Maine | 105720 | 878 | 0.8 | 96027 | 2103 | 2.2 | 106335 | 1758 | 1.6 |
| Maryland | 264511 | 908 | 0.3 | 224224 | 2247 | 1.0 | 238531 | 2323 | 0.9 |
| Mass. | 414266 | 9595 | 2.3 | 445104 | 13604 | 3.0 | 456910 | 10779 | 2.3 |
| Michigan | 544375 | 2826 | 0.5 | 520437 | 8941 | 1.7 | 537739 | 11527 | 2.1 |
| Minnesota | 316311 | 3065 | 0.9 | 292860 | 11692 | 3.9 | 330244 | 14469 | 4.4 |
| Mississippi | 59150 | | | 58264 | 392 | 0.6 | 67936 | 1048 | 1.5 |
| Missouri | 683644 | 6128 | 0.8 | 643861 | 13009 | 2.0 | 713976 | 15398 | 2.1 |
| Montana | 63641 | 708 | 1.1 | 64444 | 5676 | 8.8 | 68784 | 5855 | 8.5 |
| Nebraska | 241478 | 823 | 0.3 | 232268 | 7412 | 3.2 | 266799 | 3524 | 1.3 |
| Nevada | 10236 | | | 12118 | 925 | 7.6 | 23313 | 2029 | 8.7 |
| N. Hampshire | 92352 | 790 | 0.8 | 90162 | 1090 | 1.2 | 89587 | 1299 | 1.4 |
| New Jersey | 401650 | 4609 | 1.1 | 432488 | 9582 | 2.2 | 467111 | 10249 | 2.1 |
| New York | 1547912 | 12869 | 0.8 | 1617509 | 36883 | 2.3 | 1638350 | 38451 | 2.3 |
| N. Carolina | 292669 | | | 207867 | 124 | 0.0 | 252449 | 337 | 0.1 |
| N. Dakota | 57769 | 518 | 0.8 | 70190 | 2017 | 0.2 | 94300 | 2424 | 2.5 |
| Ohio | 1040073 | 4847 | 0.4 | 1026229 | 36260 | 3.5 | 1121552 | 33795 | 3.0 |
| Oklahoma | | | | | | | 255453 | 21779 | 8.5 |
| Oregon | 82729 | 1466 | 0.1 | 90154 | 7619 | 8.4 | 110889 | 7339 | 6.6 |
| Penn. | 1173210 | 4831 | 0.4 | 1236738 | 21863 | 1.7 | 1267450 | 33913 | 2.5 |
| R. Island | 56568 | | | 68656 | 956 | 1.3 | 72317 | 1365 | 1.8 |
| S. Carolina | 50812 | | | 55140 | 22 | 0.0 | 66393 | 100 | 0.1 |
| S. Dakota | 96131 | 176 | 0.1 | 101395 | 3138 | 3.0 | 114705 | 2846 | 2.4 |
| Tennessee | 271623 | 410 | 0.1 | 241619 | 1354 | 0.5 | 257946 | 1882 | 0.7 |
| Texas | 423706 | 1846 | 0.4 | 232642 | 2787 | 1.1 | 282339 | | |
| Utah | 93180 | 720 | 0.7 | 101624 | 5767 | 5.6 | 108618 | 4895 | 4.5 |
| Vermont | 56168 | | | 51888 | 859 | 1.6 | 52651 | | |
| Virginia | 264095 | | | 129103 | 56 | 0.0 | 136630 | | |
| Washington | 107524 | 2006 | 1.8 | 145151 | 10023 | 6.7 | 183879 | 14177 | 7.7 |
| West Vir. | 220692 | 286 | 0.1 | 239542 | 1572 | 0.6 | 285167 | 3679 | 1.2 |
| Wisconsin | 442894 | 524 | 0.1 | 442649 | 28220 | 6.3 | 454421 | 28164 | 6.1 |
| Wyoming | 24815 | | | 30715 | 1077 | 3.5 | 37609 | 1715 | 4.5 |

Throughout this table California, Illinois, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin seem to stand out as states with a large socialistic vote. In 1900 the first three of these and Massachusetts and Missouri were the only states where the vote exceeded 5000. In 1904, these six alone had each over 20000; and in 1908, these six and Oklahoma had each 20000 or more votes. These six, then, may be accepted as the states where the socialists have polled their heavy vote. They cannot, however, be taken as representative of the states in which the socialists are relatively strong. It means little to the party to poll a large vote if it does so merely because the voting population is large. The proportion which the vote cast by the party is of the total vote in the state, is a better criterion of its strength in that state than is the size of its vote, taken alone.

An examination of this proportional strength brings out some surprising features in the distribution of the vote. In 1900, the party cast 0.6 per cent of the total vote of the country, but in two states, California and Massachusetts, its proportion rose to over two per cent, the one being 2.4 per cent and the other 2.3 per cent. In 1904, the party's proportion to the total vote was 2.9 per cent, and in twenty-two states it exceeded two per cent. All the six states in which the party gets a large vote except Pennsylvania, were incleded in this list, and in the one exception the per cent was 1.7. In the same year, the party cast over four per cent of the vote in eleven states, and in this list three of the six states appear, namely California, Illinois, and Wisconsin. In 1908, the party cast a smaller proportion of the total vote than it did four years before, the percentage last year being only 2.7. In twenty-seven states, however, - the list including all the six states - the proportion exceeded two

per cent, and in twelve it exceeded four per cent. In the latter list only two of the six states, California and Wisconsin, appear. In fact, a large numerical strength may or may not accompany a large relative strength. This is well shown in the accompanying table. In it, the actual vote and the proportional strength of the party in the six states taken above, and in the three others mentioned, Missouri, Massachusetts, and Oklahoma, are given. In 1900, states with a vote of 5000 are taken, and in the other two years, those with a vote of 20000.

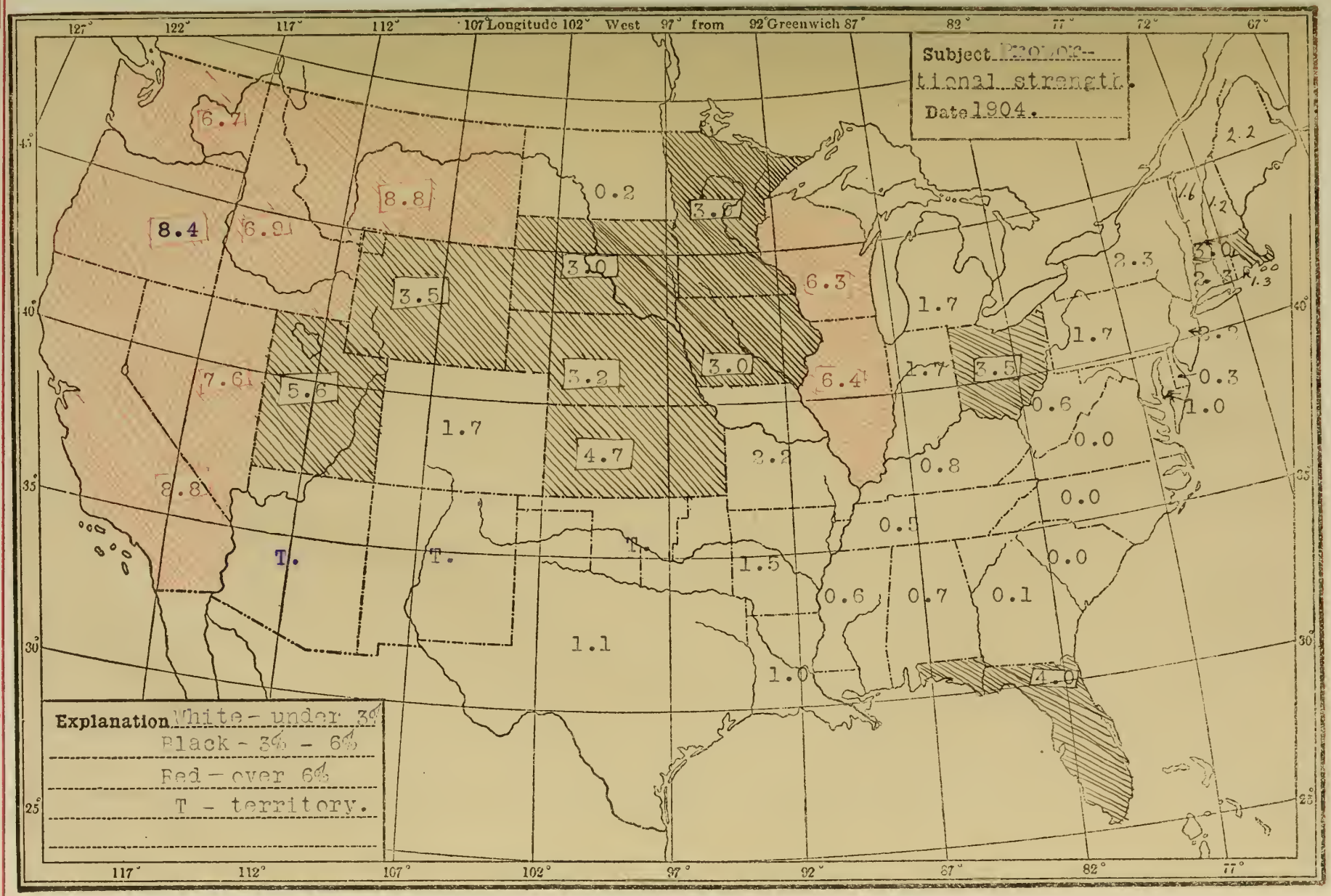
| State | 1900. | | 1904. | | 1908. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Vote | % | Vote | % | Vote | % |
| California | 7554 | 2.4 | 29535 | 8.8 | 28659 | 7.4 |
| Illinois | 9687 | 0.8 | 69225 | 6.4 | 34711 | 3.0 |
| New York | 12869 | 0.8 | 36883 | 2.3 | 38451 | 2.3 |
| Ohio | 4847 | 0.4 | 36260 | 3.5 | 33795 | 3.0 |
| Pennsylvania | 4831 | 0.4 | 21863 | 1.7 | 33913 | 2.5 |
| Wisconsin | 524 | 0.1 | 28220 | 6.3 | 28164 | 6.1 |
| Missouri | 6128 | 0.8 | | | | |
| Massachusetts | 9595 | 2.3 | | | | |
| Oklahoma | | | | | 21779 | 8.5 |

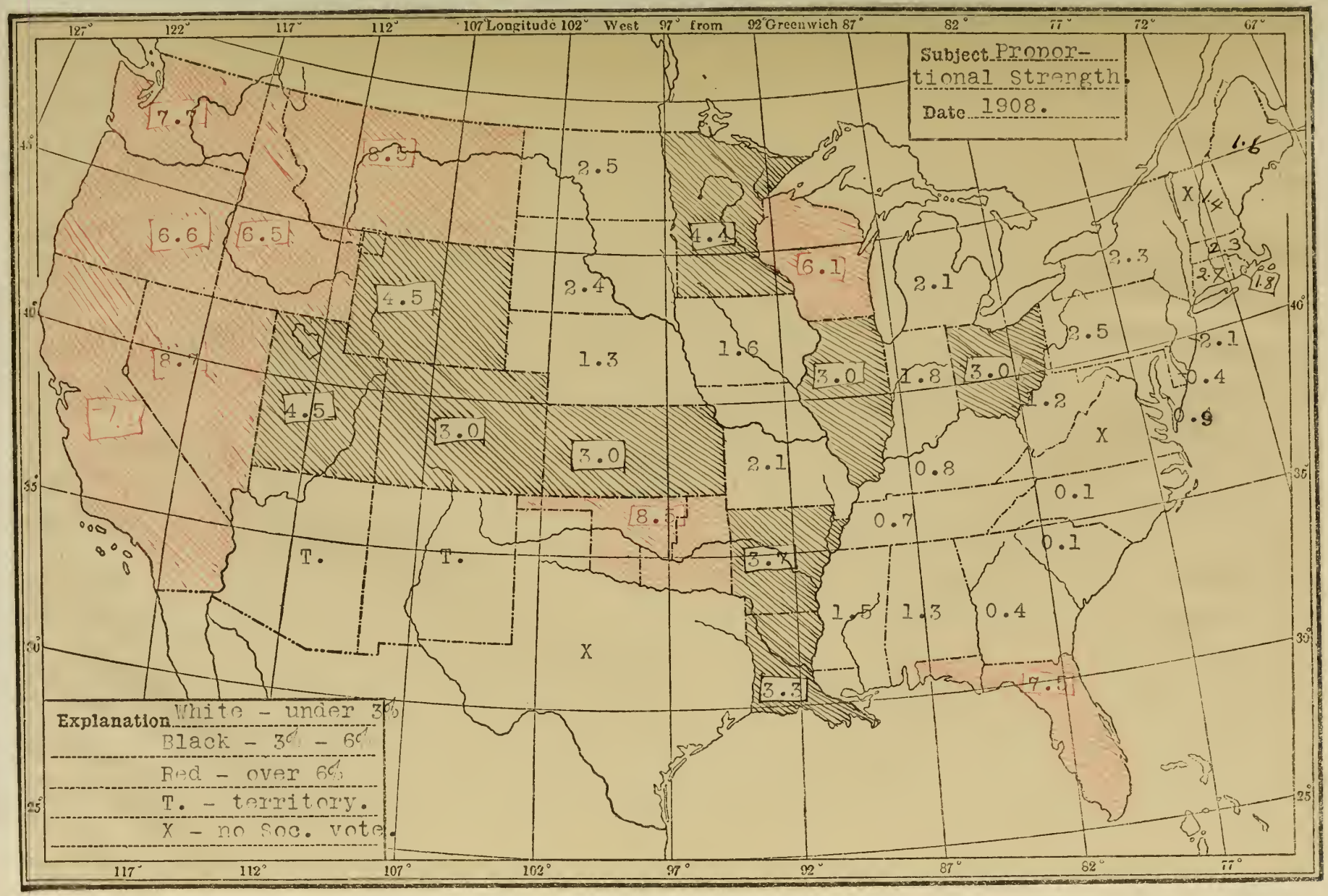
When the states are arranged in order according to the proportional strength of the Socialist Party, it at once becomes evident that the proportional strength is not at all coincident with its numerical strength. The following table gives this ranking.

| R. | 1900. State | % | 1904. State | % | 1908. State | % | R. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | California | 2.4 | California | 8.89 | Nevada | 8.7 | 1. |
| 2. | Massachusetts | 2.3 | Montana | 8.80 | Oklahoma | 8.59 | 2. |
| 3. | Washington | 1.8 | Oregon | 8.4 | Montana | 8.51 | 3. |
| 4. | Florida | 1.5 | Nevada | 7.6 | Washington | 7.7 | 4. |
| 5. | New Jersey | 1.14 | Idaho | 6.9 | Florida | 7.5 | 5. |
| 6. | Montana | 1.11 | Washington | 6.7 | California | 7.4 | 6. |
| 7. | Minnesota | 0.9 | Illinois | 6.4 | Oregon | 6.6 | 7. |
| 8. | Illinois | 0.8 | Wisconsin | 6.3 | Idaho | 6.5 | 8. |
| 8. | Maine | 0.8 | Utah | 5.6 | Wisconsin | 6.1 | 9. |
| 10. | Missouri | 0.8 | Kansas | 4.7 | Utah | 4.5 | 10. |
| | New Hampshire | 0.8 | | | Wyoming | 4.5 | |
| | New York | 0.8 | | | | | |
| | North Dakota | 0.8 | | | | | |

Probably the most surprising feature of this table is the high rank taken by Nevada and Montana, states which are not often considered in discussions of the socialist vote. In Nevada, where in 1900 the party cast less than one tenth of one per cent of the total vote, it cast in 1904, 7.6 per cent and in 1908, 8.7 per cent , the largest proportion in reached in the country. In Montana, the proportions have run 1.1 , 8.8, and 8.5 per cent. This state has thus ranked sixth, second, and third, and the socialists have always, since 1900, been relatively stronger there than in either New York or Illinois. In California, which ranked first in 1900 and 1904 and sixth in 1908, the proportions have been 2.4, 8.8, and 7.4 per cent. In Oklahoma, the proportion was 8.5 per cent in the first election for presidential electors held there. In Illinois, on the other hand, the proportions have been 0.8, 6.4 and 3.0 per cent. With the exception of 1900 the western states have ranked high in the list. This fact is well shown in the following two maps, showing the relative strength of the party in the several states. No map is given for 1900 because in that year the proportional strength of the party did

not reach three per cent in any case.


Subject Proportional strength.
Date 1904.
Explanation White - under 3%
Black - 3% - 6%
Red - over 6%
T - territory.
107° Longitude 102° West 97° from 92° Greenwich 87°
127° 122° 117° 112° 107° 102° 97° 92° 87° 82° 77° 72° 67°
45° 40° 35° 30° 25°
8.4
6.7
6.9
8.8
3.5
0.2
3.0
3.0
6.3
1.7
2.3
2.2
1.6
1.2
1.3
7.6
5.6
3.2
3.0
6.4
1.7
3.5
1.7
0.3
1.0
0.6
0.0
1.7
4.7
2.2
0.8
0.0
8.8
0.5
0.0
T.
T.
T.
1.5
0.6
0.7
0.1
1.1
1.0
4.0


Subject Proportional Strength.
Date 1908.
Longitude West from Greenwich
Explanation White - under 3%
Black - 3% - 6%
Red - over 6%
T. - territory.
X - no Soc. vote.

In making an intensive study of economic conditions in regions of socialistic strength, then, thses western states should certainly be considered, and Montana, which has uniformly stood high in the list, has been chosen as representative of the group. They should not, however, be allowed entirely to overbalance the loder eastern states. The latter have always been considered in studies of the socialistic vote. It is in them that the party is most thoroughly organized and has been most active. They are, moreover, in a more settled condition industrially, and so naturally offer a strong resistance to such ideas as those the socialists advocate. They certainly deserve notice, and any one of several states might be taken to represent the group. Massachusetts has been chosen as being a firmly settled state from the industrial point of view, and as one of those in which socialist activity first began.

Neither of these states, however, includes the three areas where socialism has attracted most attention to itself, namely New York City, Chicago, and Milwaukee. In order to bring these within the scope of this study, other counties must be considered. The examination of economic conditions, then, will take up the states of Massachusetts and Montana, and the counties of Kings, New York, and Queens, in the state of New York, Cook in Illinois, and Milwaukee in Wisconsin. The votes in all the counties concerned in this list are given in the following tables.

## Massachusetts. (2)

| County | 1900 | | | 1904 | | | 1908 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Soc. | % | Total | Soc. | % | Total | Soc. | % |
| Barnstable | 4222 | 13 | 0.3 | 4781 | 35 | 0.7 | 4341 | 46 | 1.0 |
| Berkshire | 14778 | 117 | 0.7 | 15821 | 361 | 2.2 | 15981 | 325 | 2.0 |
| Bristol | 29670 | 291 | 0.9 | 31235 | 724 | 2.3 | 34144 | 572 | 1.6 |
| Dukes | 773 | 3 | 0.9 | 751 | 9 | 1.1 | 767 | 11 | 1.4 |
| Essex | 56361 | 2701 | 4.5 | 59392 | 2366 | 3.9 | 61373 | 2376 | 3.8 |
| Franklin | 6997 | 42 | 0.6 | 7050 | 217 | 3.0 | 7108 | 240 | 3.3 |
| Hampden | 24971 | 494 | 1.9 | 36371 | 1115 | 4.2 | 27753 | 973 | 3.5 |
| Hampshire | 8267 | 112 | 1.3 | 8633 | 248 | 2.8 | 8795 | 232 | 2.6 |
| Middlesex | 81257 | 751 | 0.9 | 91866 | 1665 | 1.7 | 95886 | 1441 | 1.5 |
| Nantucket | 489 | 1 | 0.2 | 562 | 1 | 0.1 | 507 | | |
| Norfolk | 24122 | 683 | 2.8 | 25908 | 1036 | 4.0 | 28088 | 733 | 2.6 |
| Plymouth | 17774 | 1988 | 11.1 | 20809 | 2043 | 6.6 | 21204 | 1187 | 5.6 |
| Suffolk | 90681 | 1383 | 1.5 | 98964 | 2387 | 2.4 | 95539 | 1559 | 1.6 |
| Worcester | 51324 | 1035 | 2.0 | 53461 | 1397 | 2.6 | 55424 | 1084 | 1.9 |
| State | 411686 | 9614 | 2.3 | 445504 | 13604 | 3.0 | 456910 | 10779 | 2.3 |

### Other Counties.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kings | 218133 | 2331 | 1.0 | 235404 | 6598 | 2.8 | 236462 | 8422 | 3.5 |
| New York | 341665 | 6193 | 1.8 | 368132 | 16472 | 4.3 | 346622 | 15599 | 4.5 |
| Queens | 27809 | 644 | 2.3 | 34056 | 1292 | 3.7 | 43921 | 1757 | 3.9 |
| Cook | 400840 | 6572 | 1.6 | 392345 | 47743 | 12.4 | 415091 | 18842 | 4.5 |
| Milwaukee | 66266 | 4874 | 7.3 | 70487 | 18339 | 26.0 | 73456 | 17496 | 23.8 |

(2)

## Montana.

| County | 1900 | | | 1904 | | | 1908 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Soc. | % | Total | Soc. | % | Total | Soc. | % |
| Beaverhead | 1712 | 5 | 0.2 | 1707 | 24 | 1.8 | 1749 | 70 | 4.0 |
| Broadwater | 901 | 5 | 0.5 | 873 | 64 | 7.3 | 861 | 36 | 4.1 |
| Carbon | 1866 | 26 | 1.3 | 1913 | 308 | 16.1 | 2318 | 247 | 10.6 |
| Cascade | 4648 | 56 | 1.2 | 4346 | 470 | 10.8 | 4313 | 451 | 10.4 |
| Choteau | 1741 | 5 | 0.2 | 2148 | 52 | 2.4 | 2229 | 109 | 5.1 |
| Custer | 1464 | 2 | 0.1 | 1141 | 21 | 1.8 | 1594 | 84 | 5.2 |
| Dawson | 737 | 5 | 0.6 | 993 | 28 | 2.8 | 1457 | 77 | 5.2 |
| Deer Lodge | 5193 | 121 | 2.3 | 3425 | 228 | 6.6 | 3153 | 122 | 3.8 |
| Fergus | 2157 | 11 | 0.5 | 2529 | 131 | 5.1 | 2973 | 257 | 8.6 |
| Flathead | 2345 | 24 | 1.0 | 3051 | 189 | 6.0 | 3718 | 356 | 9.5 |
| Gallatin | 2517 | 22 | 0.8 | 3048 | 151 | 4.9 | 3219 | 160 | 4.9 |
| Granite | 1434 | 9 | 0.6 | 1166 | 40 | 3.7 | 933 | 56 | 6.0 |
| Jefferson | 1498 | 9 | 0.6 | 1456 | 192 | 13.1 | 1406 | 109 | 7.7 |
| Lewis & Cl. | 4861 | 42 | 0.8 | 4588 | 472 | 10.2 | 4431 | 303 | 6.8 |
| Madison | 2348 | 6 | 0.2 | 2382 | 61 | 2.5 | 2065 | 52 | 2.5 |
| Meagher | 823 | 1 | 0.1 | 725 | 9 | 1.2 | 831 | 17 | 2.0 |
| Missoula | 3326 | 24 | 0.7 | 3738 | 463 | 12.4 | 4024 | 341 | 11.2 |
| Park | 1882 | 59 | 3.1 | 2366 | 365 | 15.4 | 2563 | 264 | 10.3 |
| Powell | | | | 1191 | 31 | 2.6 | 1210 | 34 | 2.8 |
| Ravalli | 1992 | 11 | 0.5 | 1885 | 250 | 13.3 | 2173 | 209 | 5.0 |
| Rosebud | | | | 608 | 12 | 1.9 | 781 | 19 | 2.4 |
| Sanders | | | | | | | 860 | 55 | 6.4 |
| Silver Bow | 16310 | 240 | 1.4 | 14274 | 1978 | 13.8 | 13841 | 2189 | 15.8 |
| Sweet Grass | 748 | | | 763 | 48 | 6.2 | 826 | 35 | 4.2 |
| Teton | 1040 | 4 | 0.3 | 1258 | 17 | 1.3 | 1031 | 46 | 4.4 |
| Valley | 600 | 2 | 0.3 | 1096 | 11 | 1.0 | 1427 | 67 | 4.7 |
| Yellowstone | 1497 | 19 | 1.2 | 1774 | 66 | 3.7 | 3187 | 155 | 4.8 |
| State | 63641 | 708 | 1.1 | 64444 | 5676 | 8.8 | 69173 | 5920 | 8.5 |

## Notes and Citations.

1. The sources of this table are:-

1900: Chicago Daily News Almanac 1904:265.

1904: Chicago Daily News Almanac 1907:287.

1908: Chicago Daily News Almanac 1909:337.

The Review of Reviews gives:-

1900: 93865. 23:27.

1904: 397208. 31:31.

1908: 426337. 39:34.

The party in a letter from J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary gives:-

1900, 87769; 1904, 401380; 1908, 424492.

Hillquit in "Socialism in Theory and Practice" page 354, gives 423969 for 1908.

2. The sources of these tables are:-

Chicago Daily News Almanac 1903:313,321 and 322, 300, 326,and 350.

1907: 311, 319, 298, 324, and 347.

1909: 352, 358, 343, 361, and 376.

The state totals given here are the sums of the county votes as given. The amounts given in the Almanac are different, and agree with those given in the table of states. The difference may possibly be due to a lack of care in giving the exact figures in the county tables in the Almanac. The per centages are the same in all cases.

## Economic and Political Conditions Affecting the Vote.

In general it is hardly to be expected that economic influences will affect the proportional voting strength of any party in any exact mathematical ratio. The Socialist Party has, however, placed some importance on the economic factor in its support. Accord- to "The World's Work" the socialist vote in Germany is massed in cities and in industrial districts.[1] In 1900 Eugene V. Debs based a perdiction of a rapid increase in the Socialistic vote on the statement that socialism is "largely a matter of economic development".[2] The maps given in the preceding chapter show, indeed, that the Socialist Party is relatively weak in the southeastern section of this country, the distinctively agricultural region. But they also show that it is strongest in the west, whereas if the influence of economic conditions is to affect the vote directly, and socialism is to be "largely a matter of economic development", the heaviest vote of the party should be in the northeastern, or industrial part of the country.

Taking up, however, the two states selected for investigation of economic conditions, it is found that one is a manufacturing state, the other a mining and stock-raising state. In 1900, 17.7 per cent of the population of Massachusetts were wage-earners engaged in manufacturing. There are only four states in the union smaller than this one, but it ranked fourth in the value of its manufactured products. In Montana, on the other hand, 4.4 per cent of the population were wage-earners engaged in manufacturing, and the census makes

this statement:- "Notwithstanding the increase during the past decade, the manufacturing industries are inconsiderable as compared with mining, stock-raising, and agriculture, which are the principal industries of the state".[3]

The socialists frequently state that one characteristic of the capitalist system which indicates the trend of society toward socialism, is the growth of large plants and the concentration of capital into great concerns. This movement is the normal one under the capitalist system, and is taken by them as the first stage of the development of the state industry.[4] The only estimate of such concentration which is to be found in the census reports is that furnished by the average number of wage-earners and the average capital in the separate plants. It might be expected that where these indications point to the most complete concentration of capital into large establishments, the socialistic vote would be larger than elsewhere.

Another condition which is social rather than economic, that might exercise some influence over the strength of the socialist vote is the percentage of the population which is foreign-born. "The Nation" has made the statement that immigration brings in many socialists.[5] If it be granted that socialist immigrants are likely to be distributed over the country in accordance with the general distribution of immigrants, the socialist vote might be expected to be relatively large in regions where a large proportion of the population is of foreign birth.

Yet another condition which may affect this vote is the extent to which the people own their homes. It is a general claim that the ownership of property is usually attended by strong opposition to socialistic sentiment. If this be true, the general owner-

ship of homes should tend to keep down the party vote, and those regions in which the largest proportion do not own their homes might be expected to show the large socialistic votes.

The last condition to be investigated in this connection is the extent of illiteracy among the population. The socialists insist that they do not gain their support from the lowest classes but depend rather on the intelligent workingmen. There seems to be much in this claim. The fairly prevalent popular opinion that the socialists are among the lowest classes, however, would justify examination of this subject, and it is interesting to know whether illiteracy seems to exercise any influence over the vote.

In this table are given then, the average relative strength of the party for the last three general elections in each county concerned; the average capital of the manufacturing plants in the county; the average number of workmen employed in a plant; the percentage of the population which is foreign; the percentage of the inhabitants who do not own their homes; and the percentage who are illiterate and over ten years of age. The counties are arranged in the order in which they rank in average relative strength, and the rank of the county in each condition is given in each case. The table is as follows:-(6)

| County | Vote | | Capital | | Men | | Foreign | | Renters | | Illiterate | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ave. | R. | Ave. | R. | Ave. | R. | % | R. | % | R. | % | R. |
| Milwaukee | 19.0 | 1 | $ 33,904 | 8 | 53530 | 9 | 31.1 | 12 | 62.0 | 13 | 2.8 | 26 |
| Silver Bow | 10.3 | 2 | 43,291 | 4 | 2608 | 17 | 37.5 | 2 | 65.0 | 8 | 3.0 | 23 |
| Carbon | 9.3 | 3 | 4,180 | 30 | 32 | 35 | 22.7 | 27 | 31.3 | 38 | 1.8 | 34 |
| Park | 9.2 | 4 | 12,310 | 23 | 248 | 25 | 24.5 | 22 | 41.2 | 23 | 3.1 | 22 |
| Missoula | 8.1 | 5 | 23,602 | 14 | 491 | 21 | 25.8 | 21 | 36.3 | 31 | 10.4 | 5 |
| Plymouth | 7.7 | 6 | 19,488 | 20 | 20938 | 11 | 19.2 | 33 | 50.8 | 18 | 3.2 | 20 |
| Cascade | 7.2 | 7 | 53,939 | 2 | 1763 | 19 | 31.8 | 9 | 46.9 | 22 | 2.6 | 28 |
| Jefferson | 7.1 | 8 | 3,167 | 37 | 35 | 34 | 34.0 | 6 | 41.2 | 27 | 2.2 | 31 |
| Ravalli | 6.2 | 9 | 24,397 | 13 | 270 | 24 | 14.2 | 38 | 32.1 | 36 | 1.6 | 36 |
| Cook | 6.1 | 10 | 27,385 | 10 | 269748 | 2 | 34.0 | 5 | 73.8 | 5 | 2.9 | 24 |
| Lewis and Cl. | 5.9 | 11 | 2,390 | 42 | 1076 | 20 | 28.4 | 16 | 83.8 | 3 | 1.3 | 40 |
| Flathead | 5.5 | 12 | 13,873 | 22 | 377 | 23 | 23.7 | 23 | 37.7 | 30 | 2.0 | 33 |
| Sweet Grass | 5.2 | 13 | 3,802 | 33 | 12 | 40 | 23.6 | 24 | 29.8 | 39 | 2.3 | 30 |
| Fergus | 4.7 | 14 | 3,245 | 36 | 45 | 32 | 20.6 | 30 | 37.8 | 29 | 2.9 | 25 |
| Deerlodge | 4.2 | 15 | 221,170 | 1 | 2560 | 18 | 33.4 | 7 | 56.9 | 15 | 4.0 | 15 |
| Essex | 4.0 | 16 | 25,761 | 11 | 79345 | 5 | 27.4 | 18 | 64.4 | 10 | 3.7 | 16 |
| Broadwater | 3.9 | 17 | 3,773 | 35 | 7 | 42 | 20.6 | 29 | 33.4 | 33 | 0.6 | 43 |
| Gallatin | 3.5 | 18 | 8,287 | 25 | 98 | 28 | 14.0 | 40 | 38.7 | 28 | 2.0 | 39 |
| New York | 3.5 | 19 | 22,403 | 16 | 344054 | 1 | 43.4 | 1 | 94.4 | 1 | 6.4 | 8 |
| Granite | 3.4 | 20 | 4,231 | 29 | 99 | 27 | 31.7 | 10 | 49.0 | 19 | 1.5 | 37 |
| Queens | 3.3 | 21 | 23,430 | 15 | 11836 | 14 | 28.1 | 17 | 6412 | 12 | 3.2 | 21 |
| Hampden | 3.2 | 22 | 35,519 | 6 | 37796 | 10 | 30.0 | 14 | 66.3 | 7 | 6.7 | 7 |
| Yellowstone | 3.2 | 23 | 5,982 | 26 | 147 | 26 | 17.3 | 34 | 42.8 | 25 | 1.5 | 38 |
| Norfolk | 3.1 | 24 | 20,379 | 17 | 19491 | 12 | 26.3 | 19 | 53.4 | 17 | 2.7 | 27 |
| Dawson | 2.8 | 25 | 5,482 | 27 | 56 | 31 | 20.5 | 31 | 31.6 | 37 | 0.8 | 41 |
| Choteau | 2.5 | 26 | 4,083 | 31 | 21 | 39 | 32.0 | 8 | 32.6 | 35 | 11.2 | 4 |
| Kings | 2.4 | 27 | 25,331 | 12 | 100881 | 3 | 31.3 | 11 | 86.2 | 2 | 3.5 | 19 |
| Custer | 2.3 | 28 | 4,006 | 32 | 64 | 30 | 15.4 | 37 | 27.2 | 40 | 12.7 | 3 |
| Franklin | 2.3 | 29 | 18,088 | 21 | 5161 | 16 | 16.4 | 35 | 42.3 | 26 | 3.6 | 18 |
| Hampshire | 2.2 | 30 | 20,259 | 18 | 9469 | 15 | 23.5 | 25 | 48.9 | 20 | 5.6 | 10 |
| Worcester | 2.1 | 31 | 37,756 | 5 | 75117 | 7 | 29.3 | 15 | 64.4 | 11 | 5.7 | 9 |
| Beaverhead | 2.0 | 32 | 3,801 | 34 | 41 | 33 | 22.2 | 28 | 47.9 | 21 | 2.0 | 32 |
| Teton | 2.0 | 33 | 2,924 | 40 | 32 | 28 | 13.7 | 41 | 19.8 | 43 | 17.0 | 2 |
| Valley | 2.0 | 34 | 1,620 | 43 | 6 | 43 | 20.5 | 32 | 27.1 | 41 | 22.4 | 1 |
| Suffolk | 1.8 | 35 | 19,843 | 19 | 75879 | 6 | 34.7 | 4 | 81.0 | 4 | 4.0 | 14 |
| Madison | 1.7 | 36 | 3,147 | 38 | 31 | 36 | 16.3 | 36 | 43.3 | 24 | 1.6 | 35 |
| Berkshire | 1.6 | 37 | 34,144 | 7 | 17938 | 13 | 22.8 | 26 | 61.2 | 14 | 5.0 | 13 |
| Bristol | 1.6 | 38 | 48,750 | 3 | 66265 | 8 | 38.2 | 3 | 69.6 | 6 | 9.0 | 6 |
| Middlesex | 1.3 | 39 | 31,214 | 9 | 89515 | 4 | 30.2 | 13 | 65.0 | 9 | 3.7 | 17 |
| Meagher | 1.1 | 40 | 5,205 | 28 | 8 | 41 | 25.9 | 20 | 54.2 | 16 | 0.8 | 42 |
| Dukes | 0.9 | 41 | 2,997 | 39 | 75 | 29 | 14.1 | 39 | 33.0 | 34 | 5.5 | 11 |
| Barnstable | 0.6 | 42 | 2,668 | 41 | 435 | 22 | 11.0 | 42 | 26.0 | 42 | 5.0 | 12 |
| Nantucket | 0.1 | 43 | 8,703 | 24 | 24 | 37 | 8.8 | 43 | 34.6 | 32 | 2.3 | 29 |

An examination of the ranking columns in this table shows that the counties vary widely and irregularly. Of course, no regular variation is to be looked for, but it might be expected that there would be a general tendency for the highest ranks to come near the head of the list, and the lowest ones at the foot; a general tendency to conform to the first column of rankings. No such tendency is to be observed. Too much must not be concluded from this fact. The table considers too few features of the economic situation and too small a part of the United States to be broadly enough representative that a general rule can be based on it. It is reasonably certain, however, that the conditions with which this table deals do not seem directly to affect the socialist vote in this country.

When, however, we turn to political conditions, and especially to political conditions as affected by strikes and industrial disputes generally, there seems to be a much more vital connection between conditions and the socialistic vote. In 1904, the prevalent prophecies that the party would poll a large vote were based either on the fact that there were three serious strikes in progress, or on the theory that many radical democrats would vote for Debs rather than for Parker or Roosevelt.(7) Of the many strikes in the country that summer most were in the way of settlement before election, but the feeling engendered by them remained. The three most serious were probably the packers' strike in Chicago and other cities, the Fall River strike, and the Colorado mining strike. It may be noted that these strikes were in those sections where the vote was strong that year. The first was a sympathetic strike undertaken by the skilled laborers in behalf of the unskilled. It ended by a surrender of the

strikers. The second was a struggle by the cotton mill men against a sharp reduction in wages, and was settled by a compromise. The third was the worst of the three in its immediate effect on social conditions, but in October the men were returning to work. The strike was begun to secure the eight-hour day in the mines of Colorado, but this demand was soon forgotten in a struggle for law and order. "Even allowing for exaggeration", says Victor S. Yarros in "The Review of Reviews", "some Colorado counties for a time reverted to barbarism and civil chaos; what we call civilization was unknown there".[8] The strike attracted attention all over the country and stirred up a great deal of feeling. It was perdicted that the trouble would surely be brought into the national election regardless of the fact that it did not belong there.[9]

When the votes came in, however, it was found that the last two of these strikes had not increased the socialist vote in the states where they occurred. Upton Sinclair explains this by pointing out that in Massachusetts the laborers were united in support of Douglas and in Colorado thay were united in opposition to Peabody. "The socialist vote", he goes on, "falls off whenever there is a radical appeal made by one of the old parties."[10] In the states surrounding Colorado the party made large gains in 1904, and if its advances in the east in 1902 are admitted to result partly from the Pennsylvania coal strike of that year, surely this western strike may be admitted to have had something to do with the socialist gains in the western states.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the socialists enjoyed a great deal of influence in the western states before 1904. It was in 1902 that the western unions adopted the socialist platform

and approved the propaganda of the party. This general influence probably had much to do with the vote of 1904. Any added impetus it may have needed was supplied by the strike, and, later, by the excitement aroused by the trial in 1907 of William D. Haywood, the secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, for the murder of Governor Steuenberg of Idaho. Haywood was acquitted on July 28, 1907,[11] but he had attracted so much notoriety by the trial, that the New England Magazine proposed him as a strong candidate for the socialists last year.[12]

In spite of all statements to the contrary, it would seem to be such factors as labor disputes and dissatisfaction within the ranks of the old parties that influence directly the vote of the Socialist Party, rather than specific economic conditions.

Citations.

1. "World's Work" 7:4393.

2. E. V. Debs in Independent 52:2018.

3. 12 U. S. Census VIII:347 and 499.

4. W. Gladden in The Outlook 62:116.

5. "The Nation 80:324.

6. 12 U. S. Census I and VIII.

7. "The World Today" 7:1252.

C. H. Dennis in "The World Today", 7:1593.

8. V. S. Yarros in "The Review of Reviews" 30:430 - 433.

9. "The Review of Reviews 30:272

10. Upton Sinclair in "World's Work" 11:7431.

11. "The Review of Reviews" 36:265.

12. New England Magazine 37:229.

## What is to be the Future of the Party?

There have been frequent prophecies as to the position the Socialist Party is likely to occupy in American politics in the future. Dr. Lyman Abbott, writing in the Outlook on the early successes of the party in Massachusetts, said that the socialist movement was destined to become a great political factor in the nation.[1] Senator Hanna just before his death said that the future lay between the Republican Party and socialism, and that the Democratic Party could win only for a short time by stealing socialistic thunder.[2] The socialists, too, have been very optimistic. Thus J. F. Malloney, the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party in 1900, said, "All the forces of social evolution are in our favor, and we can and will hew out of the present degrading, crushing, cruel capitalist system, a newer and a better state".[3] In the same volume of the Independent, Eugene V. Debs prophesies that "within the next few years socialists will be in controlling majorities in lands having modern industry as the basis of their civilization".[4]

Whatever the future of the party may be, it needs to be emphasized that the party is in the field now with an active, aggressive campaign, and that those who are opposed to its views must meet it in the open field by sane, rational, and effective methods. There are, to begin with, several features of political life that are not favorable to the socialists. The first of these is the fact that a vote is never the real test of the extent of socialistic sentiment. Many people prefer to vote with the party which they consider has some chance of winning, and Upton Sinclair admits that whenever the older

parties make a direct appeal, the socialistic vote falls.[5] It seems, too, that as socialistic beliefs are more extensively accepted, fewer socialists are elected to office. The immediate significance of political socialism, in the words of one writer, "is what it compels other parties to do".[6] Another feature is that many voters support the movement expecting immediate results. When these are not realized such men go back to their old parties.

Other facts that must hinder the success of the socialists are that the United States is decidedly capitalistic in its organization, and that most of the population is satisfied to have it remain so. These facts are perhaps best developed by Sombart in the American Journal of Sociology. He shows that the country is fitted for a capitalistic system by its vast resources, its extensive machinery, and the prevalent desire among the people for great gain. That it is capitalistic, he shows by the vast centralization of wealth, the frequency of cities and the materialistic standards of the people. This development of the capitalist system might lead one to expect a corresponding development of socialism, which is "the natural reaction against capitalism"; but there is no such development. The American laborer is satisfied with the existing order, he believes in his country and its mission, and he is capitalistic in his own methods. The American labor union, for example, is clearly a monopoly which has the effect of shutting out the unskilled laborer. Under the present system, the American laborer draws high wages. The rates of pay here, according to Sombart, are from two to three times as much as in Germany whereas the necessaries of live cost practically the same in both countries. "Roast beef and apple pie", says the writer, "are fatal to any socialistic Utopia,"[7] and the same idea is advanced by G.

Bernard Shaw, who says, "Two pounds a week, facilities for a weekly trip to Margate, and the services of a reasonably efficient Borough or County Council will be millenium enough for the English proletarian.[8] The English have been more socialistic than have the Americans, and in February 1908, the English Labor Party declared for socialism.[9] Here, the opinion expressed by Ghent in the Independent seems to be the generally accepted one. "If the poorer oppose the richer," he says, "it is only because they want a larger share of the common loot. In defence of the existing system the petty trader will shed his heart's blood, or even his money, as freely as will Mr. Morgan or Mr. Rockefeller".[10] "It is remarkable", says "The Nation", "that educated Americans should be sanguine as to the success of socialism here".[11]

It would seem that in order to make any advances against such faith in the present social arrangements, the socialists must put their demands in definite form, must back them by solid reasoning, and must agitate constantly for them. To succeed, it must convince a majority of the voters that it has a definite plan that is better than the present one. It has been said that "while people may welcome a party influenced in its practical programme by socialistic results, they will not trust the visionary and impractical forces which take to themselves the name of socialists. The academic socialism, for example, with its complete theory of an ideal state, its materialistic conception of history, its mistaken psychology, and its intolerance of all present social conditions, involves too much that is new and untried to be approved by the popular vote."[12] The working classes are not concerned whether any plan is theoretically perfect or not; they want to know whether it is good business, and if they can be brought to decide that it is, they will vote for it. The socialists have

recognized this need for a tangible policy. "Socialism is not a religion nor the party a church," (13) says Robert Hunter. This fact was recognized in the Chicago convention of May 1908, and a platform of immediate demands was drawn up. These, even if all were granted, would not at once usher in socialism.

Having adopted a definite program, the party has been active in supporting it. Professor Ely, writing of the world movement, says that the chief cause of the rapid spread of socialism is the activity of the party in propaganda. Robert Hunter, writing of the American movement, says, "Few persons outside the movement realize the extent of the propaganda now carried on in every working-class district of this country." (14) In 1904, twenty-two men were kept constantly in the field, besides several employed by the state organizations. There is, also, a large number of voluntary workers for the cause always at work. In this agitation, the socialists are decidedly partisan and uncompromising. They claim that all alliances offered them have been broken when their party ceased to be of use to the ally, and that they do not care for further experience. They claim, too, to represent the interests of the workers and to guard these as a sacred trust. Besides, many socialists look upon socialism as a moral and religious principle and fight for it with religious fervor. (15)

The party makes extensive use of the personal factor. Mr. Debs, who has always been their candidate for the presidency, is, by their own admission, not gifted as an executive, an organizer, nor a politician, but is powerful as a speaker. (16) There was a little talk of running William D. Haywood for president last year, because of the popularity he had gained with the workers by his trial for murder. Besides this personal factor, however, the party is always making use

of less noisy means of spreading the socialistic gospel. For example, it is maintaining Sunday Schools in several cities for teaching socialism to children. It has also printed a new style of playing cards on each of which is printed a "revolutionary rhyme tending to stir up discontent among the 'lower classes'". The kings are caricatures of the trusts, the queens of the capitalist virtues, and the jacks of the guardians of the system.[16] The aim of all this propaganda is to develop clear-headed socialists, by teaching them the socialistic tenets of social evolution, rather than by promising minor reforms.

The socialists are coming to believe more and more that changes in the direction they advocate will be slow and gradual in any case. They hold that the factors which have been checking the growth of their ideas here are disappearing, or are changing so as to increase such growth.[17] The differences between the rich and poor, they claim, are becoming more marked, and the wage-earners are coming to realize that they must remain wage-earners all their lives. As these movements continue, the socialists say, socialism will be more broadly applied in this country. The laborers will force legislation from the possessing class when once they become persuaded that the division between them is becoming fixed. These movements may be helped along by restrictions on the part of the government, attempts to infringe upon or restrict the rights of laborers, and by labor troubles. Such affairs as the trial of Haywood in Idaho in 1907, and the arrest last winter of Gompers and Mitchell, for example, are depended upon by the socialists to increase the vote for their ticket. As these forces tend to mark off the laborers as a distinct social class, they may be expected to increase the socialistic vote. In the meanwhile, the desirable thing for the party is to show the workers that the way

for them to be happy is to do away with the capitalistic system.[18]

While working for this gradual transformation of society, the socialists are also actively urging reforms in municipal and local governments. They realize that, as The Nation says, "Many who draw the line at Debs or any declared socialist as president, are ready enough to try local experiments in socialism".[19] "The World's Work" estimates that perhaps not one tenth of the German socialists of to-day favor revolution,[20] and it is likely that the party in this country will insist less and less as years go by, upon a complete and immediate change in the social structure. They are beginning to feel that they must wait for the evils of our present society to establish a demand for changes. It has been pointed out that there are many tyrants in modern society whose thieveries make socialism a peril, and The Nation says that "Socialists, indigenous and imported, are confirmed in their error by the corruption practiced by the managers of public-service corporations".[21] As these evils confirm a demand for social change, the farmers are beginning to favor socialistic theories. There are two reasons for this. One is that rural conditions are now becoming characteristically capitalistic. The farmer now produces on a large scale for a world market with the help of hired laborers, who usually do not associate with the farmer's family as freely as they did in the past. The other reason is the change of the socialistic demands to an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary basis. The mild demands now being advanced by the party are much better suited to appeal to the conservative agricultural workers than were the revolutionary demands of the past.

One factor in political success on the control of which it is emphasized by both the socialists and their opponents that much of

socialist success must depend, is the vote of the labor unions. In 1900, it was thought that the party could not control the unions. The Independent admitted that the unions favored evolution toward socialism, but insisted that they were hostile to political socialism. It was pointed out that they supported public ownership of specified industries rather than socialism proper; that they expected changes in the scheme of society, but did not attempt to explain what the changes would be. Winston states that the unionists have shown their opposition to pure socialism by their declarations in labor conventions, by the statements of their trade journals, and by their actions in their unions, and points out that a general, closely-organized union of all trades has not succeeded. He reaches the following conclusions:-

1. Unionists are indifferent or averse to socialism and place their hope in the present order as modified by evolution.

2. They discriminate closely between state ownership and socialism.

3. They are superior to stampedes on the imagination, and demand reasons for the promises of socialism.(22)

The Independent states that the "trade unions truly believe in the present way of managing industry; and there is really no reason for the supposition that they, with their enthusiastic, disciplined, and compact battalions, will sweep from the earth the whole order of industrial society under which they suppose themselves downtrodden".(22)

There are evidences, however, that since 1900 the situation has been changing. In 1902, the party gained the support of the western unions and had a great deal of influence in the American

Federation of Labor. The heavy proportional vote of the party in the western states would seem to indicate that the socialistic sentiment in the unions has effect in votes for the socialist ticket on election day. Robert Hunter has stated that many unions have since adopted the socialist program. In 1904, Dr. Charles Eliot warned society to fight the influence of socialism in the unions.[23] It is becoming true that the strength of socialism is confined to the laboring classes. Not only this, but the appeal of the party is to the higher class of laborers. J. R. Macdonald has stated in The Nineteenth Century that the support of the party is from the more intellectual sections of the wage-earners and from the professional classes. The party prefers to work in a large population of skilled artisans. "The towns that are most poverty-striken," he says, "and where citizenship is most degraded, are not those that yield the best socialist results".[24] In The Fortnightly Review he says, "Socialism does not depend for support on the lowest, degraded class of society. That class has neither principles nor prejudices; it has emotions and passions, and it lives on the present order. Socialism depends on the extension of knowledge and intellectual judgment among the wage-earners in particular".[25] The Socialist Party has found this body of skilled workers in the unions, and the two bodies seem to be coming together as time passes.

There is one factor, however, which will hinder the spread of socialistic political doctrines among the unionists. This is the tendency of the unions to go into politics themselves. In the Congressional and state campaigns of 1906, the American Federation of Labor adopted a definite political program and asked the candidates of the parties to declare themselves on labor questions. They did not adopt a policy of putting up candidates of their own, but favored

or opposed those put up by the political parties. They adopted a schedule of demands which agrees closely with the immediate demands of the socialist platform of last year, but has none of its radical political demands. This action by the Federation is said to have had no noticeable effect on the 1906 elections.[26] Hunter even predicted that Gompers' attempt in the campaign of last year to turn the labor unions to the democrats would lead many of the unions to support socialism.[27] At best, there is but little practical difference between the political demands of the party and those of the unions, but so long as the latter persist in supporting the present social system, the two cannot completely unite. It is easily possible that this difference may disappear within the next few years. The chief hope for the socialists in gaining political power must be to gain control of the trade unions.

The factors, on the other hand, that must offer the greatest resistance to the growth of the Socialist Party are the powerful organization of the older parties, their size, and the elasticity of their platforms.[28] The parties are so strong that it is practically impossible to get reforms through without the support of one of the other. Their bigness appeals to the American sense, too, and is a valuable asset. The last characteristic, however, is the most important one. The leading parties oppose the growth of minor ones and constantly square their demands so as to steal the thunder of their smaller rivals. It is made perfectly easy for the laborer to belong to either party, and the leading ones are continually competing for his vote. Their hold upon him, and upon reformers generally who might be expected to support the socialists, is strengthened by the fact that most of those who start out to improve the conditions of

the laboring classes usually do so without being conscious of socialism as an end.[29] They are concerned in immediate reforms, not in the ultimate system to which those reforms may lead. Their changes may be directed toward the socialistic state, but that fact will not necessarily lead them to vote the Socialist Party ticket in the immediate future.

The probability of a counter reform in the other parties to keep pace with the spread of socialistic ideas is being continually emphasized by writers on the subject. Perry Belmont, in 1897, advocated a check in legislation regarding capital and labor and an adequate enforcement of the laws already in existence, for opposing socialism. The International Socialist Review admits that the capitalists will probably soon grant most of the party's specific demands. A writer in The Forum has predicted that if the movement attracts many followers here one of the parties will become radical and socialistic in tone. The Nation says, "As socialism gains headway here or there, one of the older parties will seize the occasion to make capital for itself". Dennis in The World Today insists that if a square deal is assured to reasonable Americans, socialistic agitation can make little headway here.[30] The old party organizations may move slowly and change in policy only when urged by great pressure, but they can be depended upon to adopt any policy as soon as it becomes popular enough to be likely to attract votes. The break-up of a major party has not been a very frequent occurrence in American history. The large parties now will be likely to strive to prevent any great increase in the vote of the Socialist Party.

In conclusion, in view of the faith of the American people, rich and poor, in the capitalistic system, the tendency of the labor

unions to favor gradual reforms rather than a definite socialistic program, and especially in view of the desire of the established parties to change their demands as the sentiments of the people change, it may be expected that the Socislist Party will not come to a commanding position in this country for many years. The future strength of the party, however, will depend on the interaction of two forces. The one is the tendency of the party and the labor unions to agree; the other is the tendency of the older parties to change with public sentiment. If the former continues to manifest itself as it has recently, the vote of the party should grow; if the leaders of the older parties insist on holding to the policies of the old days, the growth should be rapid. If, however, the unions insist on preserving the present social system, and the members of the established parties force changes in the platforms, the Socialist Party will probably not grow to very large proportions. The New England Magazine has predicted that "We in this country may not see for generations, if ever, so strong a fight for and against socialism as Europe has seen".[31] The Independent has the same idea: "We do not believe that within the lifetime of any of our subscribers, the co-operative ownership of the means of production and distribution will be a live political issue in the United States. ..... But practical progress will be along socialistic lines".[32]

Citations.

1. Lyman Abbott in The Outlook 64:411.

2. W. D. P. Bliss in Review of Reviews 34:84

3. J. F. Malloney in The Independent 52:250.

4. E. V. Debs in The Independent 52:2018.

5. Upton Sinclair in The World's Work 11:4431.

6. W. D. P. Bliss in The Review of Reviews 34:83.

7. W. Sombart in The American Journal of Sociology 12:131 - 138.

8. G. B. Shaw in Saturday Review 90:619.

9. The Nation 86:142.

10. W. J. Ghent in The Independent 59: 968 and 969.

11. The Nation 81:272.

12. W. C. Mains in The Forum 31:159.

13. Robert Hunter in The Review of Reviews 38:293.

14. R. T. Ely in The Chatauquan 30:381; Hunter in The Review of Reviews 38:297; Upton Sinclair in The Worlds WOrk 11: 7431; W. J. Ghent in The Independent 59:967; and Lyman Abbott in The Outlook 64:411.

15. Robert Hunter in The Review of Reviews 38:299.

16. The Review of Reviews 38:112.
Int. Soc.Rev. 9:80.

17. W. Sombart in Amer. Jour. of Soc. 12:140.

18. Int.Soc. Rev. 9:220.

19. The Nation 80:325.

20. The World's WOrk 7:4393.

21. The Nation 80:325.

22. A. P. Winston in The Independent 52:267;
in The Contemporary Review 77:107 -115.

23. The World's Work 9:5670 and 5671.

24. J. R. Macdonald in The Nineteenth Century 63:343.

25. J. R. Macdonald in The Fortnightly Review 89:1068.

26. Victor S. Yarros in The Review of Reviews 35:85 - 87.

27. Robert Hunter in The Review of Reviews 38:299.

28. W. Sombart in The Amer. Jour. of Soc. 12:133 - 135.

29. Morris and Bax: "Socialism - Its Growth and Outcome"
267 and 277.

30. P. Belmont in The North American Review 164:502; The Nation 80:325; Int. Soc. Rev. 9:221; W. C. Mains in The Forum 31:159 - 161; and C. H. Dennis in The World Today 7:1593.

31. The New England Magazine 37:230.

32. The Independent 64:841.

## The Socialist Theory and Platform.

A discussion of the vote of the Socialist Party and of the position it is likely to take in American politics, should give some attention to the principles which this party advocates and to how it works out these theories in its platform. The socialist was once looked upon as a terrorist, but "socialism is becoming understood. It is not classed any longer with anarchy and free love".[1] The older opinion is reflected in such phrases as "such frothy demagogues as Eugene V. Debs".[2] There seems to be an increasing interest in and respect for the doctrines advocated by the Socialist Party.

Socialsim, as a whole, opposes the competitive system under which employers compete for business and laborers compete for employment, each wage-worker striving to underbid his rival. The World's Work claims that what is called socialism here"is an importation of the German idea, with an inapt application to American conditions".[3] It gives as the requirements of an ideal society that labor and wealth must be duly apportioned, and that labor must not be wasted.[4] It insists that under the capitalistic system these conditions cannot be satisfied and proposes as a cure to transfer the ownership of land and of the means of production from the individual to the state, by contracting the sphere of the former and extending that of the latter. Industry would be strictly controlled by the social group, and the products of it would be justly and equitably distributed.

There are said to be two sorts of socialism here, the evolutionary and the revolutionary. The one advocates a gradual increase of state activity by taking over the management of natural monopolies,

and is represented by the progressive elements in the trade unions; the other advocates the common ownership of all the means of production, and is represented by the two socialist parties.[5] This distinction, however, is dying out. The Socialist Party is coming to place more emphasis on its immediate and practical demands, and to insist less strenuously on its distinctive doctrine of social revolution. It still keeps in mind its ideal social state, which, of necessity, is somewhat vague; but it has also its practical demands which are not at all vague. In the demands of the party for last year, it is seen that in only a few respects is the party at all revolutionary. The platform is as follows:-[1]

I. General Demands.

1. The immediate Government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by the reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by the reclamation of arid tracts and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the Government under an eight-hour day and at the prevailing union wages. The Government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpurpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2. The collective ownership of all land and of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication.

3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, oil wells, forests, and water-powers.

5. The scientific reforesting of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands; the land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech, and assemblage.

II. Industrial Demands.

7. The improvement of the industrial conditions of workers: a. By shortening the working day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

b. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half each week.

c. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

d. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

e. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, and of all uninspected factories.

f. By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place, compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age, and death.

III. Political Demands.

8. The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9. A graduated income tax.

10. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall.

12. The abolition of the Senate.

13. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by an act of Congress or by referendum of the whole people.

14. The abolition of the veto power of the President.

15. That the Constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

16. The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The Bureau of Education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

17. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

18. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions should be curbed by immediate legislation.

19. The free administration of justice.

With the exception of a few of the general demands, and the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth of the

political demands, this platform does not seem to be decidedly radical. The American Federation of Labor included many of these same demands in the platform it adopted in 1906.[7]

Throughout the platform, however, a tendency is apparent to make the widest possible application of Orth's definition of government as "a human device for protecting society against encroaching individuals".[8] The socialists regard the conquest of the political machinery as a necessary prequisite to the realization of their ideal. They hold that the power of the laborers is gradually increasing, but that it is held back by those who exploit the workers. This power, it is claimed, also controls the government and so long as some change in the situation is not brought about, the socialistic millenium cannot be expected. They would give the entire social group control of the government and keep the power of the individual so curbed as not to endanger the good of the whole people.

The socialists emphasize the fact that this scheme of organization which they advocate is not an artificial one. They look upon it as the ultimate goal of social evolution and the plan to which society is conforming itself regardless of the obstructions offered by the present political system. The social organism is growing and developing toward socialism. Viewed in this light, the socialistic movement is a sign not of corruption and decay, but of the highest promise and of the health and vigor of the social body. It is a philosophy, not of failure, as Laughlin has claimed it is,[9] but of scientific evolution. The socialists realize that some forms of property are much nearer nationalization than are the others and look upon the trusts and great monopolies as powerful factors in hastening the ultimate establishment of the socialistic state. Armed revolt

may be an incident in the later phases of the change, but the shift in the control of industry and in the opinions of the people is the essence of the matter.[10] The socialists insist that the real question as to their doctrine is whether it is right or wrong in the interpretation of the direction of social development.[11]

In the matter of objections to their theories, the socialists claim that they "are handicapped by opponents who insist upon identifying what we want with what they think will happen if we get it".[12] It is true that objections have been made to socialism on many grounds. The chief one seems to be that the plan could not be made to work. It assumes too great ability on the part of the officials of government, too great equality in the masses, and too great virtue in human nature. The officials of the socialistic state would need, in order to conduct wisely the entire political and industrial life of the group, to be wonderfully efficient men. There is, however, no guarantee that any better men will be chosen for office then than now. The socialistic tendency, too, is to lower the product of business and intellectual ability to a common level. Human endowments are not equal, and men of high ability would object to a renumeration on a basis of equality with other workers. It is generally contended, too, that on a basis of equality the principal incentive to excellence would be gone. If men of ability and merit are not granted a superior reward, it is doubtful if their native sense of justice will urge them to use their superior powers. It is not clear that the socialistic plan is a wise or a just one. It is possible that the adoption of it here would lead to an unsettlement in values and a loss of confidence.[13] Democracies have never been infallible, even when guided by the best men; and there is some doubt whether the socialists are the

best men. Gilman has said, "The great mass of the thorough socialists of our day are far from irresistibly impressing an observer as men who see live steadily and see it whole".(4)

A second objection to the socialist doctrine is that it is unsound economically. The socialists place a too complete reliance on the classical economists. This reliance has led them into an absolute belief in the theory that labor is the sole creator of wealth. The socialists have often further limited this theory by confining the term labor to manual labor. "If the printer and binder make the wealth", asks Brown, "why is not the money value of a number of Patent-Office reports equal to the money value of a corresponding number of Dicken's novels on which equivalent physical labor has been expended?".(15) The labor time theory of value has been extensively modified by later economists, and the socialists are in error when they support it without qualifications.

A third objection to the socialistic doctrine is that it paints present conditions in too dark tints and proposes too radical a remedy. The rich, it is claimed, by devoting their wealth to building up trade, can do more real good than by giving it all to the state, and that if socialism means state ownership and state control of production with the politicians in control, there is no reason for thinking that the poor would be better off than they are now. Taxation, it is claimed, can be used to curb monopoly, and then we need have no fear of socialism.(16)

A fourth objection is that socialism is unjust. It is claimed by some that socialism takes the full value of the laborer's product for the community as truly as slavery too the product for the master. The socialists deny this charge, saying that the laborer

receives the full value of his work in return. Nearly all these objections are summed up in the following words of H. W. Hoare in The Nineteenth Century:- "Judged by the mouth of its prophets, socialism is based not on justice between man and man, but on injustice. Professing to befriend human nature it stands revealed as its worst enemy. It has no lever wherewith to raise the soul. The spirit which it breathes is not the spirit of a common citizenship, but the spirit of class hatred, the spirit of envy, of malice, and of all uncharitableness. Blind to the fact that life develops from within, it supposes moral regeneration to be attainable through the instrumentality of a purely external organization. It would make the state the mainspring of character whereas it is character that must always be the mainspring of the state. Idealising man into something far better than he is, it leaves him with no restraint of discipline for those private passions whose centrifugal energies have so often perturbed society. Far from encouraging in us all that is manly, and brave, and self-reliant, it panders to slackness, to moral cowardice, and to infirmity of will and purpose".[17]

Whatever objections may be made to the socialistic doctrine, one thing must be granted to it. It has forcefully and effectively called attention to the evils of the present system. It has showed how a small part of the people control much of the wealth, how the idle rich get more than one third of labor's product, how useless members have grown fat on the toil of the workers, and how the industrious are taxed "for the support of indolence if not of plunder".[18] It has forced us to recognize evils "which are a standing disgrace and menace to us, which we all deplore".[19] The socialists insist that relatively to the vast increase of wealth, laborers are worse off

than in the past, that those who work hardest fare worst. They have pointed out these evils and have forced many reforms.

"Convinced though we are that the reasoning of the socialists is fallacious", says The Nation, "we incline to the belief that a socialistic agitation may in the long run prove beneficial to this country. ..... Socialism may be the means of widening intellectual horizons; it may lay before Americans a new view of some of the larger questions of life - far larger than the petty tenets of trade-unionism. It may set us to thinking; and the salvation of a republic depends upon the efforts of its citizens to think seriously about its affairs".[20]

Citations.

1. The Independent 64:821.

2. The Nation 80:325.

3. The World's Work 9:5451.

4. Morris in Ensor's "Modern Socialism", 76.

5. A. P. Winston in The Independent 52:267.

6. The platform is taken from The Review of Reviews 38:294.

7. V. S. Yarros in The Review of Reviews 35:87.

8. Orth in The Atlantic Monthly 100:2.

9. Professor Laughlin in Scribner's July 1908:104.

10. Morris and Bax "Socialism - Its Growth and Outcome" 280 - 286.

11. J. R. Macdonald in The Nineteenth Century 63:353.

12. J. G. Brooks in The Atlantic Monthly 99:279.

13: The Outlook 89:43.

14. Gilman "Socialism and the American Spirit". 27.

15. Brown "Modern Socialism" 75.

16. The Outlook 68:950.

J. G. Brooks in The Atlantic Monthly 99:283.

17. H. W. Hoare in The Nineteenth Century 63:197.

18. D. S. A. Crosby in The Westminster Review 168:375.

19. H. W. Hoare in The Nineteenth Century 63:197.

20. The Nation 86:143.

## Conclusion.

The following general conclusions based on this study are ventured:-

1. The socialistic vote is small in this country, being smallest in comparison to the total vote in the southeast, and largest in the west.

2. The strength of the party does not seem to vary regularly with economic conditions, but is affected by labor troubles and political conditions.

3. There are several factors in conditions here which will tend to keep the vote low for some time. These are the faith of the people in the present order, the tendency in the trade unions to favor evolution rather than revolution, and the tendency in the older parties to square their platforms to popular demands.

4. There are, on the other hand, factors which should tend to increase the vote. These are the movements in the Socialist Party and in the labor unions which look toward agreement between these two, and the tendency on the part of some leaders in the major parties to oppose any change in policy.

5. The status of the party in the future will depend upon the interaction of the factors mentioned in the third and fourth paragraphs.

6. In the matter of theory there is something still to be said. It is here that socialism makes a strong appeal to the sympathies. Its aim to increase comfort and general well-being accords with the desires of every thoughtful man. Its teachings that

society is one body and that the individual owes a great debt to the social group, are being more and more emphasized by thinkers. The only question is as to the methods by which the ends desired are to be attained. In the past comfort and well-being have been secured only by the exercise of difficult virtues, and it is doubtful if the necessity for them will ever cease. Gilman sums up the matter well when he says that the socialist triumphs as a critic of present conditions but not as a deviser of new ones. The socialist dream is beautiful, but "rarely are the dreamers helpful members of the committee on ways and means".(1)

There seems to be a better way than socialism for attaining the ends at which it aims. The discussions of the subject have many striking statements on this point. "Socialism must recognize the many men and women who are working to leave the world a little better and a little brighter than they found it".(2) "It is not mainly to the state that we ought to look if we desire to raise the level of our national life. It is to ourselves".(2) "Liberty will not descend to a people; a people must raise themselves to liberty; it is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed".(3) The evils which socialism points out are deep-seated and strongly-intrenched, and, as Brown says, "Not in an hour will these mischiefs be undone. Only by years, long, long years of difficult, taxing, often disappointing toil, will the deep-set marks of centuries of misrule and wrong-doing be effaced".(4)

The general attitude toward the future of socialism in this country seems to be fairly expressed by Gilman, when he says:-

"America will, indeed, show mankind a more excellent way than socialism. ..... The federal system is the only one open to America,

a sober system of checks and balances, regardful of the individual, regardful, too, of social needs. 'America holds the future', said Mathew Arnold. If American conservatism and optimism have not been overrated, then socialism will not prevail in the United States nor elsewhere. No more will a narrow individualism be the heir of all the ages. Undivided and inseparable, society and the individual will respect each other's rights and functions, increase thier attention to their diverse duties, and steadily lift mankind into a more resolute life".(3)

Citations.

1. Gilman: "Socialism and the American Spirit" 37 and 81.

2. H. W. Hoare in The Nineteenth Century 163:673 and 198.

3. G. Stanhope in The Westminster Review. 168:692 and 693.

4. Brown:"Modern Socialism" 109.

5. Gilman: "Socialism and the American Spirit" 189 and 190.

## Bibliography.

Stanwood: "History of the Presidency".Bos. and N.Y. 1900.

Brown: "Studies in Modern Socialism". N. Y. 1886.

Enson: "Modern Socialism". Lond. and N. Y. 1904.

Gilman: " Socialism and the American Spirit". Bos. and N. Y. 1893.

Hillquit: "History of Socialism in the United States" N. Y. and Lond. 1903.

Morris and Bax: "Socialism - Its Growth and Outcome" Lond. and N. Y. 1896.

J. H. Hopkins: "History of Political Parties in the United States" N. Y. and Lond. 1900.

Robert Hunter: "Socialists at Work". N. Y. 1909.

Hillquit:"Socialism in Theory and Practice". N. Y. 1909.

Twelfth Census of the United States I and VIII. 1900.

The International Socialist Review.

Magazine Articles.

The American Journal of Sociology.

Summary of Sombart:"Development of the American Proletarait. 12:131.

The Atlantic Monthly.

Recent Socialistic Literature. J. G. Brooks. 99:278.

Government by Impulse. S. P. Orth. 100:1.

The Catholic World.

Final Word on Socialism. W. J. Madden. 77:723.

The Chatauquan.

Progress of Socialism since 1893. R. T. Ely. 30: 77, 186, and 294.

Socialist Propaganda. R. T. Ely. 30:381.

Socialism and the American State. 37:328.

The Contemporary Review.

Socialism in the United States. A. P. Winston. 77:105.

Current Literature.

Church's Growing Popularity with Socialism. 43:537.

The Fortnightly Review.

Socialism and Politics. J. R. Macdonald. 89:1061.

The Forum.

The Radical Movement in the Democratic Party. W. C. Mains. 31:157.

The Independent.

Municipal Socialism in America. J. C. Chase. 52:249.

Growth of Socialism in the United States. A. P. Winston. 52:266.

The Social Democratic Party. E. V. Debs. 52:2018.

The Socialist Labor Party's Appeal. C. H. Corrigan 57:841.

Socialists, Republicans, and Democrats. J. F. Malloney. 52:2499.

The Socialist Regime. H. D. Lloyde. 54:1069.

Parlor Socialists. 64:821.

The Socialist Convention and platform. 64:1160.

Why Socialists are partisans. W. H. Ghent. 59: 967.

The Nation.

Socialism Under Debate. 86:142.

Propaganda of Socialism. 81:272.

Growth of Socialism. 80:324.

The New England Magazine.

Phases of Politics. 37(new series):229.

The Nineteenth Century.

Impotence of Socialism. H. W. Hoare. 63:186.

" " J. R. Macdonald. 63:342.

" " H. W. Hoare. 63:661.

Persuasive Socialism. W. H. Mallock. 63:852.

The North American Review.

Socialism and Democracy. P. Belmont. 164:487.

The Outlook.

Spread of Socialism. W. Gladden. 62:116.

The Socialistic Movement in Massachusetts. L. D. Abbott. 64:410.

Pseudo-socialism. 68:948.

Socialist Vote, 1903. 74:638.

Socialism - Pro and Con; a Symposium. 89:43.

Socialism. Lyman Abbott. 88:537.

The Review of Reviews.

Growth of Political Socialism. W. D. P. Bliss. 34:82.

The Year's Strikes and the Present Industrial Situation. Victor S. Yarros. 30:430.

A Year's Activity in Labor Unionism. Victor S. Yarros. 35:84.

The Socialist Party in the Present Campaign. Robert Hunter. 38:293.

The Socialist Platform of 1908. 38:294.

Red Sunday Schools and Child Socialists. 38:112.

The Saturday Review.

Socialism and Republicanism. G. B. Shaw. 90:519 and 618.

The Westminster Review.

A Socialist Program. C. F. Adams. 159:635.

The Menace of Socialism. D. S. A. Crosby. 168:361.

Socialism in General and Labor Members in Particular. G. Stanhope. 168:691.

The World's Work.

The Fear of Socialism in Germany. 7:4393.

The Socialist Party. Upton Sinclair. 11:7431.

The Real Danger From Socialism. 9:5670.

The World Today.

The Meaning of the Elections. Charles H. Dennis. 7:1591.

The Party of Discontent. Charles Ferris Gettemy. 7:1425.

The Possible Realignment of Voters. 7:1252.

23

CHICAGO, ILL., Feb.5,1909.

G.E.Post,

Urbana Ill.

Dear Sir:-

I have yours of Feb.4th. In reply would say that, I cannot give you the complete record of the Socialist vote by cities as you request.

We have on file here at all times the vote cast by states but not by cities at this time. We shall have this record completed in a few weeks. This would be too late for your use probably.

The National vote for the Socialist candidates has been as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1892------ | 21,164 |
| 1896------ | 36,274 |
| 1900------ | 87,769 |
| 1904------ | 401 ,380 |
| 1908------ | 424, 492. |

To secure the votes by cities as you request,you will have to write the secretaries of the branch organizations in these places. I give you here a list of secretaries.

Boston,Mass. James F.Carey,699 Washington St.

New York,U.Solomon, 239 E.84th St.

St Louis, Otto Pauls, 212 S.4th St.

Chicago, G.T.Franckel, 165 Randolhp St.

Milwaukee, E.H.Thomas, 344-6th St.

San Francisco, Wm.McDevitt, 139 Albion Ave.

Sincerely yours, Josiah Barnes.

National Secretary.

J.C.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 079825607